XVIII

Means of subsistence of the Mundurucu -- Hunting -- Cultivated Plants -- Wild Fruits.

224 The Mundurucu, living as they do among vast plains and virgin forests, being skillful hunters and possessing excellent hounds, owe their subsistence largely to hunting.

[241] They also practice some husbandry which, though still quite rudimentary, is of considerable help to them. [119]

Many wild fruits also grow in the region, some of them excellent.

I will not enumerate all the various kinds of game which are to be found in those parts, where tapir, deer, wild pig, mutum [?] and the inhambu and jacamin birds occur in such abundance. I will, however, provide below a list of all the plants cultivated by the Mundurucu, and another of the wild fruits, with the corresponding names in their own language:

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Cultivated Plants

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
manioc	mocetá
sweet manioc	mocepeun
large white yam	puerá erechacho
large purple yam	puerá aniucato
small white yam	auaiá
small purple yam	anauerá aniucato
sweet potato	uixiá
pineapple	para-ã
papaya	açáo-ã
pepper	aium-ã
sugar cane	canipec
timbó liana	comopi
cotton	bruun-ã
maize	muirarã

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
large bean	uriri
beanza	aroubá
S. Tomé beanza	aranegengá
large caja	pan-ee-ain
maniqueira	macaré
reed	largé
jamaru (gourd)	cuiá

[120] Wild Fruits
Fruits of the forest and bush

Para chestnut [Brazil nut]	bemaio
assaí	aipoenim
muriti [fruit of that palm]	tabeyapé
bacaba	karurubá
patauá	cadiu
uxi	tarué
pequiá	aué
abio	aracaré
forest caju	bereceré
maracock? [passion fruit]	maracuiá
becuri-pari	aiapemçá
uge	dirá
araticu	bacubacu
mocajá	ukuriá
anaja	uaricaá
copu-ahi	acarapá
pajurá	cobicao-e
cumaí ([Port.] | saluchinha [small uge])	tobaé
mamaranduba	cirara-á
forest cacao	uadberé
jutaí or jacubá	[sic]
copu-assu	acarapá

Fruits of the Field

jabuticaba	puhê
mangaba	sukua
field cajú	bacurideiras
açaí	etsu-ê
murici	querubara-ê
marmelada	bara-ê
field araticu	bacuhiuru bara
pineapple	ayuri

Dabê is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectolitres.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

To prepare dabê, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [122]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, dabê keeps for a long time.

They also make another kind of dabê from the same nut, once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai, patawá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uruima.

They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, dabê, etc.

They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

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Plants cultivated in Mundurucu villages (1)

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1. I owe this technical outline to the courteous collaboration of Dr. Lourenço José Ribeiro da Cruz Rangel, distinguished botanist from the National Museum [Rio].

manioc	Manihot utilissima, Linn. ; euphorbiacea fam.
sweet manioc	Manihot aypim, euphorbiacea fam.
[122]	
large white yam	Dioscorea bulbifera, dioscorea sativa, Linn. Dioscorea fam. There are many different yam species, such as: Dioscorea dodecaneura, Vell. ; Dioscorea hyperifolia, Vellozo; Dioscorea trifolia, Vil. ; Dioscorea brasiliensis; etc., etc.
large purple yam	
small white yam	
small purple yam	
watermelon	Cucurbita citrullus, Linn. ; cucurbitacea fam.
jerimu	Cucurbita maxima, D.C. ; cucurbitacea fam.
sweet potato	Convolvulus edulis; convolvulacea fam.
pineapple	Bromelia ananas, Linn. ; bromeliacea fam.
papaya	Caryca papaya, Linn. ; papayacea fam.
pepper	Many fruits belonging to different families and genera go by the name of pepper; but the Indians know best and use most the Indian pepper, Capsicum pendulum, Vellozo; solanacea fam.
sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum, Linn. ; graminacea fam.
timbó	The timbó liana, also known as cururupé, is Paullinia pinnata; and the Rio de Janeiro timbó is Physalis heterophilla.

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Beside these, the Serjania genus also embraces some poisonous varieties that go by the name of timbé, such as S. caracasana, S. clematidifolia and S. bullata--especially the latter as its name indicates.

[123]

cotton	Gossypium herbaceum, Lamarke; malvacea fam.
maize	Zea mais, Linn.; graminacea fam.
large bean	Bean, Vicia sativa, Linn.; leguminosa fam.
	There are many bean species, nearly all of which belong to the Phaseolus genus, leguminidia fam.
banana	Plata banana, Musa sapientum; platanin, Musa sapientum; dwarf banana, Hexandria monoecia, Linn. These are all of the musacea family.
S. Island banana	Musa paradisiaca, Linn.; musacea fam.
large taji	Caladium esculentum, Linn.; aroidea fam.
reeds	The reeds used by the Indians to make arrows belong to the wild cane, Arthrostachium gigas; graminacea fam.
calabashes	Calabash, Cucurbita lagenaria, Linn.; Cucurbita leucables, Duch.; genera of cucurbitacea family. The term "calabash" is used to designate various species of the genus Cucurbita, cucurbitacea family, some of which are edible and others poisonous.

Uncultivated Fruits Native to the Region

Fruits of the Fields

mangaba	Hancornea pubescens, Martius; apocynea fam.
jaboticaba	Myrtus cauliflora, Martius; myrtacea fam.
field caju	Anacardium humile? Martius; thombentinacea fam.
anina	[illegible]
murici	Byrsonima verbasa.
marmelada	The people of Sergipe thus call the fruit of a wild shrub, which looks somewhat like the guinjoy and is of a dark purplish hue; it is edible, and considered to be a kind of quince native to [the province of] Alagoas. Cydonia?; rosacea fam.
field araticu	Anona cornifolia, St. Hilaire; annacea fam.
andry	Lagenklina imperialis cucurbitacea fam.

Fruits of the forest and brush

chestnut	Pará or Maranhão chestnut, Bertholletia excelsa, Humb. and Bonp.; myrtacea fam.
assahy	Euterpe edulis, Martius; palmtree fam.
muriti	Mauritia vinifera, Linn.; palmtree fam.
baccaba	Oenocarpus baccaba, Martius; palmtree fam.
[illegible]	
patauá	Oenocarpus?; palmtree fam.
uxi	Uxi umbrosimum; crosobolanea fam.
pequiá	Pequiá, coffee or wild coffee, Casearia foetida; samydea fam.
sapo	Labatia reticulata, Martius; sapotacea fam.

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forest cacao	Cacao, T	I to belong to the Cacaotum
		Sterculiaceae fam.
	Theobro	cao, Linn. and Wild.
		cea fam.
	Hyleseia	nigra, blanca, caneliacea
		fam.
	Liggia or	ana, bifolia, verbenacea fam.
	Brazil	gr. Salvia fulgens. Cav.
	Mahl.	dulcea fam. Forest sage.
	Rivinia	scheppersiifolia
	Acacia	aceae, tr. Hilaire; acacaca
		fam.
	Known to	Rio de Janeiro as "cacaubal
		Acacaceia sclerocarpa,
	Martius	palmeira fam.
	Palmeira	am.
	Dalbergia	aceae, malvacea fam.
	Leguminosa	a fam.
	Laurinea	am.
	Pyrethum a	ndum, tr. Hilaire; myracea
		fam.
	Achras pa	aceae, Manilkara
		ta, Lacerda; sapacaea fam.
[138]		
forest cacao	Cacao, T	
	bolivian	bolivian a cacao, Linn.;
	Theobro	cea fam. Wild cacao,
	bolivian	a guianensis, Wild.
		cea fam.
pecbá	Hymenae	
	Martius,	silvicarpa, Haine and
	leguminosa	Hymenea courbaril, Linn.;
		a fam.

Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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[illegible]

[illegible] problem of acculturation toward settlement formation has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 150 years, of which well 80 years have been spent in outdoor exploitation. The following description of the pre-contact period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the [illegible] of aboriginal Mundurucú, but refers to the decade of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1956].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open savanna for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-borne enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the bow warfare [illegible] by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult [illegible] to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only [illegible], isolation from the forest was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Kuikuro[illegible] were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, [illegible]-structured economy having basis of the Kuikuro were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under serious [illegible], the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent [illegible] political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, even there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Rather[illegible], it can be argued that Northwestern Kuikuro bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Kuikuro were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically not in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and permanent. Village subdivision was based on clan-and-moiety participation. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilineal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Lowie's characterization of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Mundurucú given the nuclear family to somewhat greater functional importance than among the Kuikuro[illegible]. The Mundurucú family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Kuikuro pattern was the converse. Each Kuikuro household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilineal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilineal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males were receiving instruction right in the men's house, which was located in the center[illegible] of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most [illegible] of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily [illegible] there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

/11 men./

*241 442 [243] The men dig or open a hole in the ground (kudy). He does this with a "digging stick," which consists of a strong rod, about 2 meters long, pointed at the lower end. The man pushes this rod hard into the ground, at an angle of 30 to 45 degrees, and then straightens it to a vertical position. This opens a small pit into which the woman who accompanies him puts two or at most three cheats of home manioc (8) (maek taiadun or maek ip maun). Removing the up

*[231] 244

8. Manioc /home manioc/ is the name of the plant and the generic name of this vegetable (Manihot utilissima), while the roots, in the form of large tubercles, are called "manioca." The home-manioc stalks, after the harvest, are saved for the next planting, when they are cut into pieces of 20 centimeters at most. These pieces, or "manioc cheats," are planted in the manner indicated above, for manioc does not propagate itself through seeds.

of the stick from the pit, she steps on /the pit/ to close it up and to pack the soil, but in such a way that the upper ends of the manioc shoots stick out in order to grow branches and leaves. Under the influence of civilization, nowadays the Munduruků are already using spades and even iron digging tools. The distance between the manioc pits is approximately 1 meter on the average. [277]

*241 There is no doubt that the Munduruků carry out their horticultural work within a certain system, not only as regards the steps involved in clearing the plot but also in the planting itself. There is a sequence to the planting steps. In the time that elapses between the final burning and the planting, as a rule they sow watermelon, which thrives amazingly in the recently burned ground. Only then

/27 sem./

*241 which they were already cultivating, the introduction of new plants /must have been/ all the more /welcome/. Thus, the process may have been even slower.

242 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence 197 of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are 199 products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are 799 cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

*241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /Sic./ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rain) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

244 9. The harvest. The Indians generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc-root"— mask ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc root, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground, 242 the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.